DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 088 *5 May 1983*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

SFRY Joins Protocol at CEMA Gas Session [BTA] AA 1
Intercosmos Group Session Held in Sofia [Sofia] AA 1

BULGARIA

USSR Missile Offer Increases Hope for Accord [Stoyanov] C 1
Antonov Lawyers Request His Hospitalization C 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Husak Reply to Neutral, Non-Aligned CSCE Message D 1
Chnoupek, USSR Envoy Exchange Treaty Documents D 1
Paris Embassy Issues Report on UNITA Hostages D 1
Fojtik Addresses Rally on Freedom of Journalism D 2
[RUDE PRAVO 3 May]
Church Officials Endorse Prague Peace Congress D 4
[RUDE PRAVO 27 Apr]
Church Dignitary Interviewed on Peace Movement D 5
[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 29 Apr]

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ADN Comments on Kohl's Government Statement E 1
Tisch Addresses FDGB Commemorative Meeting E 3
Sindermann Attends Eisenach Luther Celebration E 4

HUNGARY

Andropov's Arms Proposal Termed 'Encouraging' F 1
PPF Delegation Returns From Indochina, India F 1
Kampuchean Ambassador Presents Credentials F 1

POLAND

Andropov Speech Deprives U.S. of 'Key Argument' [Glabinski] G 1
PZPR Politburo Session Held on May Day Events G 1
May Day 'Hooligans' Receive Sentences G 2
Kalkus on Workers' Views, May Day Events G 3
[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 30 Apr]
Daily Attacks 'Opposition' During May Day Events ["KRK"] G 4
Kowalczyk Speaks at Constitution Celebration G 6
Results of Actions Against Illegal Gains G 7
Glemp Office for Repression Victims Vandalized [AFP] G 7

ROMANIA

Hu Yaobang 'Very Warmly Welcomed' by Ceausescu H 1
Popescu on RCP Break With Dogmatic Constraints H 1
[SCINTEIA 30 Apr]
CONTEMPORANUL Article Countered by NOVOYE VREMYA H 4
[cross-reference]
Hostility Against Hungarian Minority Reported H 4
[Vienna KURIER 29 Apr]
Ceausescu Discusses Lebanon With Begin Envoy H 4

YUGOSLAVIA

Ribicic's Interview With PRC Correspondents I 1
[Beijing]
Ribicic Receives Outgoing Romanian Ambassador I 3
Ribicic Notes LCY Program's Anniversary I 3
[BORBA 29 Apr]
SVLJET Notes 'Paranoid Ideas' on Muslim Republic I 4
[Muhic, BORBA 30 Apr, 1, 2, 3 May]
Kosovo Presidency Elects New President I 5
Further on Croatian SAWP Presidium Session I 5
[BORBA 27 Apr]
Croat SAWP Commission on Clericalism, Antitheism I 6
Montenegrin SAWP Views Activity, Elects Chairman I 6
[BORBA 15 Apr]
BORBA Urges Recognition of Macedonian Church I 7
[Nikolic, 23/24 Apr]
Briefs: Macedonian Presidency President; I 9
Macedonian Assembly President

SFRY JOINS PROTOCOL AT CEMA GAS SESSION

AU291044 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] Sofia, April 29 (BTA) -- The fifth sitting of the section on obtaining and transport of natural gas with the permanent CMEA commission on crude oil and gas industry ended in Pleven yesterday. It was attended by representatives of the CMEA countries -- Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, as well as specialists of Yugoslavia. They discussed possibilities for a more economical and efficient utilization of the fuel and energy in the obtaining and transport of natural gas, as well as the development of pipe transport, the working out of techno-scientific forecasts in the gas industry up to the year 2000 and many other problems.

The heads of the delegations of the CMEA member-countries and of the Yugoslav delegation signed a protocol on wider cooperation and technical assistance in the obtaining, storage and transport of natural gas. Special importance is being attached to environment conservation. In a planned manner and on contractual basis, all the participating parties, offer their own developments and achievements by individual countries in the gas field.

INTERCOSMOS GROUP SESSION HELD IN SOFIA

AU301539 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 29 Apr 83

[Text] The ninth session of the Intercosmos group for long distance research of the earth from space according to the Intercosmos program has ended in Sofia. A protocol was signed and an accountability report was adopted for the period from May 1982 - April 1983. In addition, a cooperation plan for the period up to 1984 was also adopted. A draft program was compiled for joint research work for the 1986-1990 period.

At the session it was stressed that socialist integration in space has achieved a high level. Special space experiments were pointed out, in particular in this connection, such as the successful project [words indistinct].

USSR MISSILE OFFER INCREASES HOPE FOR ACCORD

AU041538 Sofia BTA in English 1433 GMT 4 May 83

[BTA observer T. Stoyanov: "Formula of Equal Security"]

[Text] Sofia, May 4 -- Yesterday's proposal of Mr Yuriy Andropov for the Soviet Union to have at any time no more than the number of NATO medium-range rockets and airplanes, as well as warheads, is increasing the hopes to achieve an agreement which will ensure equal security for the Soviet Union and for NATO.

Moscow has been fighting consistently against the American intention to use disarmament as a means for unilateral decrease of the Soviet military potential. Mr Andropov's formula, if accepted, will ensure such ratio of forces in Europe under which the Soviet Union will have both an equal number of rockets and airplanes with NATO and an equal number of nuclear warheads.

This is a just and clear formula. It is based on the arithmetics of the equal number of carriers and the equal number of warheads. Thus the practical lowering of the combat ceilings of the Soviet Union and NATO will mean to preserve the approximately established parity. No sober thinking politician would reject the criterion of the balance as the only acceptable one for the two sides.

Mr Yuriy Andropov has manifested once again not only the goodwill of Moscow to find a way towards real disarmament, but also the way to achieve justice at the Geneva talks, because who would deny that the principle of equal security is the only solid basis for a successful end to the Soviet-American dialogues. With this formula Moscow makes the question of an agreement in Geneva still more understandable not only to the governments but to the peoples, too.

Through this prism one sees extremely clear the demand to take into consideration during the estimations the respective arms of France and England. It is logical for each unprejudiced person that Moscow cannot close its eyes to the British-French nuclear warheads, because they are not aimed at Washington but at the Soviet Union.

Moscow's readiness to consider any initiative based on the principle of equality and equal security of the sides reaffirms its goodwill and the earnestness of its approach to the problems of disarmament. Along with this, it reminds of the firm determination of the Soviet Union not to permit the scales in Geneva to be tipped in favour of NATO.

ANTONOV LAWYERS REQUEST HIS HOSPITALIZATION

AU041345 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 3 Apr 83

[Text] Rome, May 3 (BTA correspondent) -- The REPUBBLICA and IL MESSAGERO dailies inform of a request put forward by lawyers Consolo and Laroussa to subject Sergey Antonov to hospital treatment.

The lawyers of the Bulgarian Sergey Antonov, writes the REPUBBLICA, have requested magistrate Ilario Martella to have their client treated in a psychiatric clinic. According to an expert's examination, Antonov is reportedly suffering from a "maniacal phobia with a depressive background", caused by his detention in isolation. The experts' report was signed by the professors Giovanni de Vincentis, Luiggi Catalano and Francesco de Sando.

HUSAK REPLY TO NEUTRAL, NONALIGNED CSCE MESSAGE

LD042226 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 4 May 83

[Text] President of the Republic Gustav Husak has replied to the message of the heads of state and government of Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Sweden, San Marino, and Yugoslavia addressed to the leading representatives of all the CSCE participant states which expresses concern over the situation of the talks of the Madrid meeting and appeals for its early conclusion by the adoption of a balanced and comprehensive final document.

In his reply Comrade Gustav Husak said that the CSSR considers the Madrid talks an important link in the process of the relaxation of tension and the development of cooperation in Europe and is of the opinion that all the participants should contribute toward a speedy and successful conclusion of the talks. He also praised the initiatives of the neutral and nonaligned countries at Madrid and confirmed Czechoslovakia's readiness to contribute actively toward concluding the work on the final document on the basis of the latest proposal put forward in Madrid by the delegations of neutral and nonaligned states. Comrade Gustav Husak also stated that a positive result at the Madrid meeting -- particularly the adoption of the decision to call a conference on measures to strengthen trust and security and on disarmament in Europe -- would contribute toward improving the international situation, toward further developing the all-European process of relaxation, and toward strengthening world peace.

CHNOUPEK, USSR ENVOY EXCHANGE TREATY DOCUMENTS

LD050516 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 4 May 83

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, and Aleksandr Botvin, Soviet ambassador, today in Prague exchanged ratification documents on the treaty between Czechoslovakia and the USSR concerning legal aid and legal relations in civil, family, and criminal law.

PARIS EMBASSY ISSUES REPORT ON UNITA HOSTAGES

LD042137 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 4 May 83

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Paris]

[Text] According to a report issued by the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris, embassy officials have met an American journalist, (Edward Giradet), who recently, together with his French colleagues, visited the place where there are now 8 of the 66 Czechoslovak citizens kidnapped by the Angolan antigovernment organization UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. The group of our citizens, with whom (Giradet) spoke, includes: Jan Bezek, from Ruzomberok; Aleksandr Ivanov, from Bratislava; Antonin Kubik, from Zabreh; Viktor Labounek, from Hvozd, Prostejov District; Vaclav Morava; from Steti; Jozef Poc, from Novaky; Ondrej Vanda, from Sturovo; and Eduard Pal, from Jihlava.

The Czechoslovak citizens were kidnapped and taken to a base near the town of Rivungo, close to the Angola-Zambia border, about 80 kilometers north of Namibia. This information was given by the first eye-witnesses who succeeded in establishing contact with our citizens. This first group consists of the fittest men. According to the information, these eight Czechoslovak citizens are in satisfactory health.

Their living conditions are determined by local possibilities, which (Giradet) characterized as relatively good.

According to (Giradet) the 8 men confirmed that on 8 April, all 66 kidnapped were together for the last time. After that they were divided into three groups. A few days ago, the first group reached the area near the town of Rivungo. Two other groups of Czechoslovak citizens, which, according to the journalist, should include 21 children, 17 women, and 20 men, are expected in the above-mentioned area in about 2 weeks.

The march of all three groups was made much more difficult by a shortage of foodstuffs and medicines, and the exhaustion of the kidnapped citizens. The units of the UNITA antigovernment organization escorting the kidnapped Czechoslovak citizens were followed incessantly by units of the Angolan Army. However, the Angolan Army did not attack in order not to endanger the lives of the Czechoslovak citizens. The kidnapped citizens were taken by truck for 700 km, and then forced to walk 1,150 km.

FOJTIK ADDRESSES RALLY ON FREEDOM OF JOURNALISM

AU041905 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 May 83 pp 1, 2

["Speech of Comrade Jan Fojtik," candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a festive rally marking the 30th anniversary of the beginning of television broadcasting in Czechoslovakia, held in Prague on 2 May]

[Excerpts] The duties which television must fulfill are formidable. This is particularly true of the present, the stage of building advanced socialism, a period of the exacerbating history-making struggle between the two social systems and their antagonistic ideologies, between socialism and capitalism. Television will determine, to a considerable extent, how each of our citizens understands the party policy and to what degree he identifies with it and contributes at his own place [of work] to implementating it. It will depend, to a considerable degree, on television whether they will understand the connections between our domestic and foreign policy, the connections between our efforts at home and what is happening abroad. Everyone in our country should know how the fronts are divided and to which side his homeland, the CSSR, belongs in the struggle for social progress and against the threats of present-day imperialism, represented particularly by the military-industrial complex of the United States and its spokesman, the present administration in Washington, Reagan and company.

No task facing the propaganda sector is more responsible than unmasking the threat to which American imperialism is dangerously exposing the civilization and culture of mankind. An especially urgent task is to rouse people against the worst threat of all, the threat of a nuclear war, which the American imperialists are preparing against Europe and which would unavoidably end in a universal holocaust. In the light of this struggle we also see the urgency and the importance of our tasks in connection with the preparations of the forthcoming world assembly of representatives of antiwar movements in Prague.

Indeed, television has to fulfill demanding tasks at present, tasks that are more difficult than in the past.

There is only one way of holding one's own in the face of the growing demands, only one way of living up to one's mission -- this applies to television just as to all the other information media and to culture and arts. It is the path of dedicated service to the Communist Party, the political vanguard of the workers class, and the working people; it is the path of unconditional service to socialism, to those ideas and values that have proved their viability in the revolutionary development of our society and which are inseparably linked with its further progressive development, with the prosperity of our homeland and with the consolidation of its place and authority in the socialist community and in the anti-imperialist front of those who fight for human happiness, man's real freedom, and lasting peace.

Incidentally, the 30 years of Czechoslovak Television's existence have proved this quite graphically -- its successes in the last decade, but also the setbacks and defeats which it did not escape toward the end of the sixties.

We know how allergic our class adversaries are to any mention of the obligation to serve, which socialist journalists consciously take upon themselves. Those who outrageously debase the press and, even more so, television and radio by prostituting themselves, those who quite unscrupulously subordinate the ethics of journalism, if the word ethics can be used at all, to class bias and lies, they very frequently and, strangely enough, with pleasure brandish cliches about "the freedom of the press" and in defense of this freedom. They understand by this, however, nothing but the liberation of the journalist from his conscience, from his incorruptible convictions. What they have in mind is, above all, the journalist's detachment from social responsibility so that he is rid of all inhibitions to serve his paymasters. This institution [Czechoslovak Television] was once led by a person with neither morality nor scruples [person meant is presumably former director Jiri Pelikan] who today overflows with slanders of our people and our homeland and is among the foremost organizers of campaigns sullying socialism and our republic. Among the invectives our enemies like to use are those accusing our system of attacking the freedom of journalism. It suffices to ponder this fact a little to see how paradoxical such accusations are. Our enemies themselves show us very graphically what so-called free journalists are capable of in their paid hatred of socialism, especially of the Soviet Union, but also of our country. I stress, in paid hatred, because attacking socialism has become one of the most profitable businesses.

They do not shy away from meanness, impertinence, or cynicism, nor do they miss a single opportunity. Let us mention, for example, the camera work during the relay this Saturday of the ice-hockey match between our team and the Soviet team in Munich [when banners with anti-Soviet slogans in the Czech language appeared on the TV screens] Anything suits them when it comes to kindling psychological warfare. And every time we protest we hear the stereotypical phrase about the freedom of the press.

It is a very peculiar freedom. Those who brandish it have persistently, for decades, manipulated public opinion. They have surrounded public opinion with an almost airtight wall of lies and mystifications and condemned it to political illiteracy and ignorance by means of a meticulously defined and controlled selection of misinformation which is designed to generate fear of revolutionary transformations, of progress, and socialism. It consists either of outright lies or of half-truths aimed at buttressing people's prejudices, generating hatred, and making the public support all kinds of reactionary measures, including even the preparation of war or of aggression against progressive revolutionary states.

And they are doing so with references to this public opinion, swearing by democracy and freedoms. It is clear that all this is one big swindle. And among the worst pieces of demagogy is that about the so-called freedom of the press.

We say it openly: Indeed, we have nothing in common with such "freedom." We are happy that we have put an end to it once and for all in our country, that we have parted company with it. With their deepest conviction, our socialist journalists identify with the duties which socialism and the Communist Party are putting before them. They want to selflessly serve the working people and their complete liberation from the fetters with which the exploiting orders had tied them for centuries. This liberation relates to all spheres of the human activity -- material and spiritual. An expression of this liberation is the formation of a new, highly motivated attitude to work, to social property, to one's obligations vis-a-vis the work collective, to one's community, to the people.

CHURCH OFFICIALS ENDORSE PRAGUE PEACE CONGRESS

AU281059 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 83 p 3

[CTK report: "For Preserving Life on Earth; Representatives of Czechoslovak Churches and Religious Societies Expressed Full Support for the Prague Peace Assembly"]

[Summary] Prague, 26 Apr (CTK) -- "At their meeting in the Prague Palace of Culture on Tuesday, representatives of all churches and religious societies in the CSSR expressed full support for the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War [to be held in Prague this June]. The more than 600 participants in the meeting also included professors and students of theology departments and representatives of Chirstian peace organizations and other church institutions."

In their speeches Gustav Cejka, doctor of theology, professor at the Roman Catholic Cyril and Methodius School of Divinity in Litomerice, and Karol Gabris, doctor of theology, dean of the Slovak Evangelical School of Divinity in Bratislava, stressed the responsibility of mankind for the sacred gift of life and welcomed, therefore, the holding of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War.

Tomas Travnicek, chairman of the Czechoslovak preparatory committee, said that the purpose of the world assembly will be "to unite not in a single organization but in joint action all people of good will regardless of their world outlook and political beliefs. In an open dialogue we will seek that which unites us because only unity in action can we prevent nuclear war, save peace, and preserve life on Earth."

The need for concerted action in the struggle for peace and disarmament and against the threat of nuclear war was also underlined in the discussion. The following took the floor: Jan Michalko, doctor of theology, bishop general of the Slovak Evangelical Church; Josef Vrana, doctor of theology, bishop of Olomouc; Miroslav Novak, doctor of theology, patriarch of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church; Jozef Feranec, doctor of theology, bishop of Banska Bystrica; Dorotej, metropolitan of the Eastern Orthodox Church; Canon Gejza Navratil, deputy chairman of the Federal Committee of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy; Miloslav Hajek, doctor of theology, synod senior of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren; Mila Hradecna, member of the International Secretariat of the Christian Peace Conference; and Julius Filo, professor of the Slovak Evangelical School of Divinity in Bratislava.

In conclusion, the participants adopted an appeal.

CHURCH DIGNITARY INTERVIEWED ON PEACE MOVEMENT

AU031838 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 29 Apr 83 p 3

[CTK report: "The Peace Voice of the Czechoslovak Clergy; the Churches on Preparations for the World Assembly"]

[Text] (CTK) -- "The cooperation of all people, regardless of their world outlook, is needed for preserving peace; and that is also why the Catholic Church, together with other churches and religious societies in the CSSR, has joined preparations for the approaching World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War," Stefan Onderka, Roman Catholic chapter vicar in Kosice, doctor of theology and member of the Presidium of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy, told CTK in an interview.

He stated that the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia is preaching the need to preserve peace, and for this it is making use of such opportunities as, for instance, the recent Prague assembly of the representatives and clergy of all churches and religious societies in the CSSR, held in support of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War. He pointed out that the Pacem in Terris Association is standing in the front ranks of the fight for world peace. The church has appealed to the believers, among other things, through its press -- the CATHOLIC NEWSPAPER -- to actively work for life and peace. The church has contributed to the Fund of Peace and Solidarity of the Prague June meeting of peace forces, in which church and religious representatives from all over the world will also take part.

"We are always on the side of those," Stefan Onderka stated, "who are serious about peace in the world and who are taking specific steps for preserving it. Questions of disarmament, international detente, the solution of disputes through negotiations and not by military force, as well as other topical problems were also discussed by the January session of the Warsaw Pact member countries' Political Consultative Committee in Prague. Its conclusions have been welcomed by all peace-loving people throughout the world. We too highly appreciate them."

ADN COMMENTS ON KOHL'S GOVERNMENT STATEMENT

LD042354 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1648 GMT 4 May 83

["Government Statement by Chancellor Kohl" -- ADN headline]

[Text] Bonn, 4 May (ADN) -- FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in a government statement made on Wednesday to the Bundestag in Bonn, outlined the bases of the domestic and foreign policy of the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition formed after the 6 March elections.

Kohl named the firm anchoring of the FRG in NATO, and particularly the close alliance with the United States, as the heart of his foreign policy. In this connection he again declared his support for the NATO missiles decision and for the position occupied by the Reagan administration on this question. Kohl said: "We are no wanderers between East and West." The FRG will further strengthen and actively cooperate in creating political and military cooperation in NATO. The deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles in the autumn of this year, should there be no results in the Geneva negotiations, is part of this. From his remarks a certain automatism regarding this deployment can be concluded, in the sense that he was at pains to justify the position of the United States which is not interested in genuine negotiation results.

In the course of his speech the chancellor said that peace requires friendship with the West and understanding with the East. He regards it as necessary to strive for a qualitative improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact nations. The Federal Government is striving for talks with all East European states, in particular with the USSR, and indeed, at all levels. This must take place without illusions about existing differences.

In spite of all the contradictions contained in the speech, this exposition is only to be welcomed, because both the Soviet Union and all other Warsaw Pact states are greatly concerned at maintaining good relations with the FRG. This also found expression in the Political Declaration of the Prague discussions of the Warsaw Pact nations.

Naturally one must not impose any preconditions which impinge on the sovereignty and independence of one or more of the states of the Warsaw Pact. It is to be hoped that the realities which have come into being as a result of World War II and of postwar developments will not be overlooked by the Bonn government. This from the passages of the so-called German policy, cannot unfortunately be concluded.

The same naturally also applies to the insinuations made in Kohl's speech that the Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of expansion and the goal of undermining stability in capitalist countries. The interference in Polish and Afghan affairs, as well as in those of other socialist states, is not consistent with this.

Chancellor Kohl also stated that the basis for relations are concluded treaties and the FRG wishes to fashion its policy with the East according to the letter and spirit of these treaties. Good will pertaining, a broad field of cooperation on the political, economic, scientific, and cultural fields is available. He spoke of mutually beneficial and balanced economic relations with the socialist countries being an important factor in an East-West dialogue.

In his remarks about the relationship betwen the FRG and the CDR, one of the Warsaw Pact nations, Kohl said that his government wants to use and fulfill the treaties with the GDR. In this, trade is an important element in these relations. The FRG is striving for further practical progress and is prepared to conclude long-term agreements in various areas. Talks at all levels could be useful in this matter.

Bonn observers note that the chancellor avoided speaking about continuity in relations with the GDR. His statements were strewn with many Greater German slogans from the fifties. For example, he repeated the Bonn thesis of a unified German nationality which contradicts the Basic Treaty, international law, and also reality. In the FRG capital the impression was gained that Helmut Kohl was at pains to conceal the recently-arisen contradictions within the coalition concerning Ostpolitik.

Kohl's remarks that one must today explain much which was self-evident at the time of the founding of the FRG was somewhat incomprehensible. It is comprehensible if one has not forgotten that the FRG itself, according to today's understanding of it, was launched on someone's orders, and indeed -- as was recently demonstrated in an FRG television program -- on the orders of the Western allies. The question is, however, whether children and grandchildren will have to acquire this knowledge anew, particularly as the current generation of citizens is largely opposed to the piling up of nuclear weapons in Europe, is against Pershing II and cruise missiles, and for the freeing of Europe from nuclear weapons, both in the East and in the West.

Kohl's statements on domestic issues dealt with the continuing crisis and its economic and social consequences. He made it clear that mass unemployment will continue and that profound structural problems persist. The reform of public finances would entail restrictions and sacrifices. A long road had to be walked before economic difficulties would be over.

After the government statement, a Lower House debate began which is due to last for 3 days.

The chairman of the SPD Lower House Parliamentary Group, Hans-Jochen Vogel, said, as the first speaker in the debate, that Helmut Kohl had said nothing about the fact that "Mr Strauss has just blocked one of the most important levels of dialogue, that between the chancellor and the first man in the GDR." Now all that was left was to limit the damage and use patience and calmness to prevent even more of the laboriously tied threads from breaking.

Vogel said that the SPD also declared its loyalty to the NATO alliance but that he who really wanted continuity in foreign policy had to accept the fact that peace needs predictability. He demanded that the proposal of the socialist states for a nonaggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact should be taken up. The Swedish proposal on the creation of a nuclear-free corridor along the border between the military alliances had to be explored also and not brusquely rejected.

The deputy chairman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group, Theo Waigel, directed strong attacks against detente policy. He demanded that the "keeping open of the German question" should have priority over the Basic Treaty between the FRG and the GDR, and that FRG policy had to be based on a German empire within the borders of 1937.

The spokeswoman of the Greens, Marieluise Beck-Oberdorf, said that the FRG Government was again pursuing the old image of the enemy and was joining the great howling about the enemy in the East. This was to afford the alibi for what Kohl called "peace in freedom." This slogan meant a policy of threat with nuclear weapons. Deterrence meant to be prepared to be serious about the launching of nuclear missiles "at people who are allegedly our enemies." Speaking to the chancellor, the speaker added: "We say to you that we regard such a strategy, the readiness to extinguish whole peoples, as a crime. What sort of Christian policy is it, which presumes to make possible the destruction of creation." The insecurity policy which they called security policy should be replaced, according to the Greens, by the demand for cancellation of any partnership in the NATO nuclear deterrent.

Marieluise Beck-Oberdorf went on to say that the chancellor had spoken in the election campaign of creating peace with ever fewer weapons. But the launching pads for the new missiles were already being built. In vassal-like loyalty, the territory of the FRG was being offered to the Government of the United States for the deployment of American first-strike weapons and the announcement of a wageable and winnable nuclear war in Europe was being deliberately ignored. On the other hand, a foreign policy in the interests of the FRG would mean no Pershing II and no cruise missiles in the country, measures toward demilitarization to the extent of absence of nuclear weapons so that other countries would also be called upon to do the same. The Greens would do all in their power to prevent the deployment of these missiles.

The spokeswomen of the Greens stressed that what the chancellor called the new German foreign policy was in reality the continuation of the old with dangerous means. A truly new foreign policy would mean creating at last normal interstate relations with the GDR. That would be a peace policy. The representative of the Greens spoke in some detail on issues relating to economic development and environmental protection.

Previously the chairman of the FDP, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, had fully supported what the government statement had to say about the involvement of the FRG in NATO and on the deployment of new American missiles in the FRG. Speaking of East-West relations, he spoke in favor of their improvement, which meant all-round cooperation. This included political dialogue and economic relations. A trade war with the Soviet Union was to be rejected not only for economic reasons but for reasons of political stability.

Genscher, who allowed himself some unreal statements on the continued existence of a unified German nation said also that there was a "community of responsibility" between the two German states to do all they could to prevent a war ever emanating again from German soil. He spoke out against the dangers of a new cold war. Nothing should happen to place in doubt what had been achieved, everything had to be done to use the opportunities offered by the Basic Treaty.

TISCH ADDRESSES FDGB COMMEMORATIVE MEETING

LD022244 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1804 GMT 2 May 83

[Excerpts] Berlin, 2 May (ADN) -- Arms limitation and disarmament, no new nuclear weapons in Europe, Europe must be free of nuclear weapons -- these are the demands made in Berlin today by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, on behalf of 9 million GDR trade unionists, at a militant meeting outside the building of the FDGB bezirk executive committee in the Wallstrasse. The meeting was held to commemorate the smashing of the free trade unions by the Fascists in Germany 50 years ago.

Harry Tisch told the 4,000 participants in the meeting that the trade union rights won by the working class in decades of hard class struggles were destroyed at that time. He recalled the KPD'S warning of the bloody fascist regime, the mortal enemy of all democratic movements.

The fertile ideological soil for the national catastrophe was already at that time made up of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, Harry Tisch said. Recalling 2 May 1933 means commemorating the many brave people who saved the honor of the German working class, who risked their lives, and who did not fear death in order to overcome the brown plague and to establish a new Germany. The fighting alliance of communists, social democrats, Christian and nonparty trade unionists formed the germ cell for a unified trade union after the defeat of fascism. This idea took on real shape in the FDGB after the overthrow of fascism by the Soviet Army and the other powers of the anti-Hitler coalition.

Harry Tisch stressed that having a responsible say and playing a responsible part in shaping all questions affecting the lives of the working people and also creativity and initiative are an expression of the comprehensive trade union representation of interests in the GDR.

Today the most reactionary forces of imperialism have again embarked on the path of dangerous adventurism, which threatens the existence of all mankind, and are steering a course of confrontation and arms buildup. They are again trying to befog people's minds with anticommunism and anti-Sovietism and to get them to accept material preparations for war, which are already having devastating political and social consequences for working people in the imperialist states.

The participants adopted a declaration reaffirming that nothing is more important than banishing the threat of world nuclear war, summoned up by imperialism, which would mean mankind's self-destruction. For peace to triumph, socialism must be strong. They stated that 1983 must not become a year in which new American medium-range missiles are deployed in West Europe.

SINDERMANN ATTENDS EISENACH LUTHER CELEBRATION

LD050904 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1603 GMT 4 May 83

[Excerpts] Eisenach, 4 May (ADN) -- On the occasion of "Luther Day at the Wartburg" in Eisenach on 4 May, greetings messages were conveyed at a dinner to the Luther Committee of the Evangelical Churches of the GDR on the opening of the church celebrations of the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth. Bishop Werner Leich had opened the meeting at the Wartburg Hotel with a message of welcome and a prayer.

The great esteem and respect that Martin Luther received in the GDR from the church and the state speaks of his significance and his respected place in the history of the German people, said Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the State Council and president of the GDR People's Chamber in his greetings address.

He expressed his satisfaction that the Luther Committee of the Evangelical Churches of the GDR, notwithstanding the nature of its brief, is cooperating closely with the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR, whose chairman is also chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker.

Horst Sindermann continued: One who looks into the future must also look back far into the past and ask questions about one's origin and historical roots. Turning to the guests from many countries Horst Sindrmann said:

Please understand the peace policy of our state from this point of view -- from the centuries-old craving of simple people for peace and social security, the inner fire of our humanist inheritance for all that is noble and worthy of man, and the concern for the peaceful future of mankind.

We do not want everything that we respect to be extinguished by a fireball of nuclear destruction or the world that we strive to build according to manking's ideals to disappear forever because of irresponsible and hate-filled people, nuclear first-strike weapons, and cynical theories of a limited nuclear war. That must not happen and it will not happen, said Horst Sindermann.

In the afternoon Horst Sindermann and Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the State Council and deputy chairman of the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR, together with numerous ecumenical guests, took the opportunity to tour the Wartburg. The Wartburg was ceremonially reopened on 21 April with its newly designed exhibitions following comprehensive reconstruction of the building and careful restoration of the art treasures. The state had made available extensive means for the restoration work of this significant monument to the humanist traditions of German history. Horst Sindermann and Gerald Goetting entered their names in the Wartburg guest book.

A service in the courtyard of the Wartburg on the afternoon of 4 May united participants in the festive event and believers from Thuringia. Bishops from 10 countries walked in a procession to the altar erected in the open at the foot of the south tower. Bishop Werner Leich introduced the service. It was attended by Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the State Council and president of the GDR People's Chamber; Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the State Council and deputy chairman of the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR; and other members of the Martin Luther Committee of the GDR.

ANDROPOV'S ARMS PROPOSAL TERMED 'ENCOURAGING'

LD050928 Budapest Domestic Serivce in Hungarian 0500 GMT 5 May 83

[Text] Among the news of international politics, we shall report first on the fact that the American President characterized as encouraging Yuriy Andropov's arms-control proposal that was made public on 3 May. The general secretary -- as we have said several times -- implied that the Soviet Union is ready to reduce the warheads on its medium-range missiles as well. Such a reduction would be tied to the same ratio as the number of British and French warheads, provided that the United States does not implement the Brussels resolution on deployment, which was agreed upon by the NATO.

Our correspondent, Istav Kulcsar, reports from New York:

[Begin Kulcsar recording] During the evening Reagan held an exclusive press conference for six invited American journalists. Most of the questions of those participating were directed at the new Soviet arms-control proposal that had been outlined by Yuriy Andropov on 3 May. Reagan described as positive and encouraging the fact that the Soviet Union is willing to accept not only the number of missiles but warheads as a unit to measure a quantitative reduction. He added that the Soviet proposal will be seriously considered. The President said that he would want to have an exchange of ideas about this, among other things, with Paul Nitze, leader of the American delegation participating in the talks on the limitation of medium-range missiles in Europe. Reagan would like to talk to Nitze before Nitze returns to Geneva, where the negotiations will resume on 17 May.

According to observers, Reagan, led by tactical or other considerations, did take a more positive stand concerning Andropov's proposal than the American State Department did on the previous day. [end recording]

PPF DELEGATION RETURNS FROM INDOCHINA, INDIA

LD050913 Budapest MTI in English 0636 GMT 5 May 83

[Excerpt] Budapest, 5 May (MTI) -- The delegation of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front that under the leadership of secretary-general of the National Council, Mr Pozsgay, visited Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos and India on the invitation of the Vietnamese Patriotic Front, the Kampuchean United Front for the Defence and Construction of the Fatherland, the Lao Front for National Construction and the Indian National Congress (I) Party, Wednesday returned to Budapest.

KAMPUCHEAN AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

LD050916 Budapest MTI in English 0635 GMT 5 May 83

[Text] Budapest, May 5 (MTI) -- Wednesday Phang Saret [MTI spelling] ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, new ambassador to Hungary of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, presented his credentials to Pal Losonczi, president of the Hungarian Presidential Council.

ANDROPOV SPEECH DEPRIVES U.S. OF 'KEY ARGUMENT'

LD042118 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 4 May 83

["Andropov Speech: Optimistic Sign" by PAP journalist Stanislaw Glabinski]

[Text] Warsaw 4 May -- The sentence on the Soviet willingness to reach agreement on both missiles and nuclear warheads included in Yuriy Andropov's speech made during his meeting with Erich Honecker yesterday deprives the Reagan administration of its key argument saying even an equal number of launches or missiles gives advantage to the Soviet side.

The Soviet Union's aim to achieve a full and absolute balance of nuclear forces in Europe with no edge of either side is so clearly expressed, so obvious, so logical that questioning it may result only from ill will, the will to outwit the opposite side, or to maintain one's edge.

Thus, the West in general and Washington in particular came to face a big dilemma: to accept the Soviet stand and thus guarantee security for Europe or to continue the to-date tactic of aiming to achieve edge over the USSR.

The U.S. Administration certainly will not be immediately ready to give up the Reagan programme to introduce a new generation of missiles in Western Europe, which the acceptance of the Soviet stand would require. However, how embarassing the situation became for this administration can be seen from the fact that the State Department spokesman already mentioned a possibility of making corrections in the U.S. stand and tactic.

Yuriy Andropov's clear definition of the Soviet stand is another consistent step in the tough campaign for European security.

PZPR POLITBURO SESSION HELD ON MAY DAY EVENTS

LD041912 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 May 83

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has held a meeting. Against the background of the ceremonies which took place on 1 and 3 May, the meeting assessed the country's sociopolitical situation, the results emerging from it, and the tasks for party echelons and organizations.

It was stressed that these holidays were ceremonially marked in an atmosphere of seriousness and sense of well-fulfilled obligation, in the light of the country's emergence from crisis and the stabilization which is currently taking shape. This was particularly evident on Labor Day. On 1 May about 6.5 million citizens participated in nearly 900 parades and 500 rallies. These Labor Day ceremonies were held throughout the entire country and drew considerably more participants than last year. This participation was an expression of the growing recognition and support for the policy of accord and joint work for the country's rebirth and for the most rapid possible emergence from the crisis.

The mass rallies and processions confirmed that socialism is the historic achievement of the working people in Poland. They were also an expression of the internationalist solidarity of the Polish workers with the international working class as well as with the countries of the socialist community.

The Politburo stressed that the mass participation by citizens -- both party and nonparty members, believers and nonbelievers, old and young -- in the ceremonies to mark Labor Day, simultaneously signified the bankruptcy of the attempts of those adventurous groups who called for a boycott of the 1 May ceremonies. The propaganda of the antisocialist underground, supported by instructive programs from subversive radio stations in the West, met with complete failure. The Politburo expressed profound respect and recognition for the working class, working people, members of the party, nonparty people, and all those who took part in the workers' holiday.

In some towns on 1 May the political opposition attempted to incite counterdemonstrations and incidents, to disrupt public order, and to supply fodder for Western propaganda; however, the weakening of the 1 May ceremonies, in which millions of working people participated, was never achieved. On 3 May, as well, a few attempts were made to organize illegal events. All these incidents were stopped.

The Politburo expressed its thanks to the forces of order and to the working people whose active attitude supported the actions of these forces and prevented the provocateurs from [word indistinct] the May Day processions. This responsible attitude by citizens provides proof and a manifestation of support for the aspirations of social calm and the condemnation of adventurist, transgressive actions.

The mendacious presentation of the course of the celebrations by hostile propaganda, the overlooking of the massive scale of the celebrations, and, simultaneously, the multiplication of the numbers of those who participated in the incidents and the dramatization of the course of those incidents continues to be based on calculations that Poles will clash in the name of foreign and alien interests. The imperialist circles in the West and the domestic forces of destruction wish at all costs to arrest the developing favorable processes of our economic reconstruction as well as the growth of the national rebirth movement and the developing dialogue between state and church. They particularly wish to disturb the preparations of John Paul II's visit to Poland. The Politburo and the Government Presidium drew attention to this danger in the communique issued after their 19 April joint session.

The Politburo stated that the situation in Poland was defined and determined for the future by those who see in work, calm, and struggle for socialist renewal the conditions for a worthy and successful future for Poland. Such people were those who gave proof of the high civic awareness of our society by means of the great class May Day demonstration of the workers' will.

MAY DAY 'HOOLIGANS' RECEIVE SENTENCES

LD042204 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 4 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 4 May -- District courts in some Polish cities completed summary trials of people guilty of hooligan offences which had disturbed public order on May 1 and immediately before May Day, a spokesman for the Ministry of Justice disclosed today.

Cases brought before the courts referred to profanation of state flags, insulting militia bodies, militia officers and Polish Army soldiers on duty. The district court in Minsk Mazowiecki, for example, sentenced an unemployed recidivist to one year in prison for profaning the Polish state flag, and the district court in Sroda Wielkopolska sentenced two 19-year-old secondary-school students to 10 months in prison for the same offence.

KALKUS ON WORKERS' VIEWS, MAY DAY EVENTS

AU041949 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Apr/1 May 83 pp 1, 4

[Zdzislaw Zaryczny interview with Stanislaw Kalkus, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, entitled "My Interpretation"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] You are the only representative of Poznan in the Politburo. From the Politburo's high position, what sort of view do you have of your factory's affairs and those of your city and country? What does Poland look like from up there?

[Answer] Whenever I state my opinion during a Politburo meeting, I always compare my opinion to that of a given social circle. At such times I try, despite everything, to see how the people nearest me live. It would seem that I am diminishing the problem, but I am not. After all, I have a family which could serve as an example of a moderately well-off working family. I also see how my friends at work comment on various topics, both topics concerning life and topics concerning high politics. And then I compare the prospects facing my mature children and their grandchildren. This is my interpretation, which is perhaps also the interpretation shared by that part of the community similar to my family.

[Question] You have said, Comrade Stanislaw, what various matters look like from the position of a Politburo member. Now let us reverse the position -- do you know how your activities in the Politburo are assessed by the workers?

[Answer] One or two days after a Politburo meeting, I talk to the primary party organization secretaries in the Cegielski plant, but I do not present them with a report, because that is not the point of my meeting them, but I tell them what sort of arguments and counterarguments were presented and how the final decision emerged. Having given them this information, I immediately notice how the aktivs in the Cegielski plant react to it and how they comment about it.

Do not think, however, that after his Politburo meeting Kalkus gathers together his party and nonparty colleagues and listens to what they have to say. One cannot talk about very important matters for 5 minutes while standing in a workshop. One has to explain things the right way so that people get an idea of what kind of problems the Politburo is experiencing and how it conducts its talks. Remember also that we only have two government members in the Politburo today, the premier and the minister of foreign affairs. This also raises extra questions.

[Question] The problem of correctly representing the interests of working people is also connected with your presence in the Politburo. I do not suppose there is any politician in Poland today who does not refer to these interests. What do you understand by this? What are the interests of working people today? Who has the right to express them?

[Answer] The most important matter for me is who may speak on behalf of working people. Only a person may do so who comes from this social group, who identifies himself with this group and whose material circumstances are similar to those of this social group.

And what does it mean to defend the interests of working people? It means that a person who represents them and refers to them must know how they live and what they desire. The most important matter, and this one must not forget under any circumstances, is permanent direct contact with working people. This is a condition behind representing their views.

[Question] Where are you going to take part in a procession?

[Answer] In Poznan, of course, among my colleagues from the Cegielski plant. That is my natural place. I will say one thing more -- everyone who supports 1 May as a working people's holiday will take part in it. I do not believe, and I have no right to believe, that all those who take part in a procession are people who support the party and socialism. No. But people will take part on the principle that it is their holiday -- a holiday of working people, and not only of Communists.

I do not believe in counterprocessions. There will not be any, and in any case workers would certainly not take part in them. Not because they all support us, but because they can see a constant improvement in the country and that the direction we have chosen is correct both politically and economically. For me the best barometer for measuring the moods of workers are the new trade unions, and in these trade unions there is no stagnation, only a constant growth. When something improves every day, it means that people have faith, and with this hope they will take part in a procession. And I with them.

[Question] Thank you very much for the interview.

DAILY ATTACKS 'OPPOSITION' DURING MAY DAY EVENTS

AU041150 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 May 83 pp 1, 3

[Commentary signed "KRK": "The Significance of the Rallies"]

[Text] Exceptionally beautiful, sunny weather accompanied 1 May. Working people and their families celebrated this day honorably and seriously, as befits the difficult times we are experiencing. The working class took part en masse in the traditional rallies and processions. At their side were other social and professional groups and many young people. Mass participation was, therefore, the foremost characteristic of Labor Day, on 1 May 1983 in Poland.

This day went by under the slogan of accord and of collective, honest work for the sake of the country. Leading the country out of the crisis and leading it onto the road to normalization and progress depends on this work. This was another characteristic of the 1 May celebrations throughout the country. Definitely the majority of the community displayed a will to undertake collective work and to share collective responsibility for the fate of the fatherland along the road to accord by taking part in the Labor Day ceremonies and displaying accord, under the banners of calm and stabilization, despite differences, and increased their efforts to heave the country out of the crisis. They displayed accord even though the feeling often exists that expectations have not been met and even though there are difficulties and setbacks in life.

The political opposition with former Solidarity extremists were planning a counterrally for 1 May on a wide scale. Wide sections of workers and young people were called on to join in the "competitive" processions and the feelings of patriotic working people concerning the 1 May traditions were played upon. Western radio stations called on a boycott of the "official" 1 May ceremonies and on the organization of countermarches exceptionally loudly and insistently. The opposition called on the organization of these counterrallies wherever possible and however possible. They even suggested that church services be used for this purpose.

These great intentions fizzled out. Attempts were made in over a dozen cities to organize counterrallies and countermarches, but they did not gain much support.

It is not difficult to decipher what was behind this attempt at 1 May provocation by the underground with the support of foreign centers. What was behind it was mainly a strong desire to demonstrate the presence of the opposition and showing that there is no and there can be no calm, normalization, accord, and good, honest work in Poland. After a period of relative calm because of the unsuccessful attempts at confrontation last year through a lack of support from the community, the political underground has once more felt a desire to make itself known. And this they felt at a time when progressing normalization has become visible, when more and more people are connecting the fate of the country and the fate of themselves and their families with accord based on joint work, and when they are connecting the democratization of life and an improvement in the standard of living with calm, with a full implementation of the Ninth PZPR Congress program, with the development of new trade unions and workers' self-management bodies, with an increased role by representative bodies and with an active participation in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which started building itself up from the foundations only a few months ago and today contains over 600,000 activists.

The opposition has suffered another fiasco. It has done so because that is what working people wanted. The majority of the Polish community wanted it, too. The clear aims of people who are cut off from the real needs of society, from the country's reality and from the reality of everyday working life failed to gain support because they could not. Most of the community formed itself into processions consisting of many millions and took part in the traditional rallies which are organized every year to celebrate their holiday. In this way, they demonstrated their stance toward the country's current affairs.

Most of the community lent their support to the policy of socialist renewal, to the policy of normalization through accord and work, to the continuation of economic reform, to the strengthening of the state and to the peaceful solving of difficulties and conflicts. The Polish community is finding life difficult. Does it have to be reminded how difficult every day is and how many sacrifices are demanded? But his must not and will not shut off the country's further prospects and its supreme interests from view. On the contrary, people are becoming more and more aware that life improves as work becomes better and more efficient and as reforms are consistently implemented, all this accompanied by calm and order.

People are becoming more aware of the need for accord and for increased effort at leading the country out of the crisis. They are also becoming more aware that only order and calm are the correct roads which lead to the normalization of life in Poland. Normalization is connected, among other things, with a lifting of martial law. As Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski has said in his 1 May speech, a lifting of martial law and deeds and measures accompanying this will be really possible if no breach of the progressing normalization occurs in the coming days and months and if calm sets in.

The 1 May ceremonies have revealed one more thing, namely that Polish society and we, its members, are capable of seeing an increasingly closer connection between calm and order in our own country and the affairs of Europe and the world. We are aware that the international antisocialist forces and imperialist circles are counting on unrest in Poland and on a development of a conflict inside Poland that would help them achieve their own political and economic interests. Conspicuous here is the Government of the United States, which is applying and inspiring economic and other restrictions, leading aggressive propaganda against our country and interfering in its domestic affairs.

"In this light," W. Jaruzelski said, "we must take a sharper look at the plans to deploy new missiles, aimed at our cities as well. Polish blood is quoted at a low price on the Washington stock exchange."

The first of May 1983 has shown that workers, working people, and young people are choosing peace and work.

KOWALCZYK SPEAKS AT CONSTITUTION CELEBRATION

LD031511 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 0955 GMT 3 May 83

[Speech by Edward Kowalczyk, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, during the 3 May Constitution celebration at Warsaw's royal castle -- live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed colleagues, dear guests: For more than several dozen years, 3 May has stirred the imagination of Poles with its legend of a great patriotic upsurge, by reasonable citizens of an eclipsing republic.

The SD fixing its holiday on this day, wished to mark the fact that this upsurge was also the beginning of a modern democracy, which from that day was to crystalize its image as one of progressive intelligentsia, burghers, and peasants struggling in the ranks of national uprisings.

This was a huge effort, for the state and social crisis -- as we might call it -- of the time had the dimension of an ultimate decline. The raising of Poland from this decline and the building of a strong executive power and an efficient and modern state in the face of internal disintegration -- and economic-political sanctions of foreign states, which allegedly want only the good of Poles -- was a heroic task.

Searching in that period for political inspiration and analogues, it is worth drawing attention to the (?possibility) of exploiting in the present situation the method of thought and action of the creators of the May renewal. This was a worthy response by enlightened Poles to the sociopolitical crisis that Poland was experiencing at the time; a response that was intellectual in method, scientific in comprehensiveness and precision, and concrete in its program of action that grew out of social needs.

Cannot this be a present example for us? Should not the consciences of some citizens presently be stirred by remembering those historical moments -- when a small group of enlightened and courageous Poles had to resist, by virtue of their wisdom, the darkness and obscurantism, and superficial and widespread opinions that were hostile to the ideas of strengthening the state and executive power, to progress, and were manipulated by alian inspiration from the outside.

We are convinced that we have drawn the correct conclusions from the past and that we are presently behaving correctly, purudently, and effectively. Our political parties and the government stand firmly on the ground of the Polish raison d'etat.

Esteemed gathering, the SD, celebrating its holiday today, remembers the fraternal alliance with its political partners, the PZPR and the ZSL. We celebrate our party holidays together, a fact attested to by our presence at 1 May celebrations, and the presence of our allies today in this hall. We shall also participate together in the ZSL holiday.

Such dates as 1 May and 3 May are not only close together in the calendar; 3 May as a symbol of progressive national ideas is -- in the tradition of the Polish left -- a national supplement to the general International Labor Day, 1 May.

The ideological triad: patriotism, progress, democracy -- proclaimed by us, by our party, years ago, as a guideline for work -- most fully expresses the contemporary contents, dear to all Poles, of the 3 May tradition. May this frequently demonstrated attitude bear fruit today in wise deeds, undertaken for the common good, in [word indistinct] efficient work, in bold creative thought in science, culture, politics, and the economy; in national unity and consensus, which does not shrink from the offering of a sacrifice of one's interests, or even privileges.

Let us work for the good of socialist Poland, perfecting our political and party actions. Let us strive to give the SD the reputation and position of a party of democratic aspirations, effective deeds, and patriotic attitudes. May it gain respect and recognition. [applause]

RESULTS OF ACTIONS AGAINST ILLEGAL GAINS

LD050844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 5 May 83

[Text] At the Citizens Militia headquarters, the first-quarter results of actions conducted against people who illegally received millions have been summed up. During this period, preliminary proceedings against 145 persons have been undertaken. They made fortunes by appropriating social property, speculating, dealing in foreign currencies, bribing, and various tax offenses. Property valued at Z124 million has been secured to pay for the fines and tax claims of the suspects. More than half of the suspects work in shops and other private firms. Almost one-third of these people work in state enterprises.

GLEMP OFFICE FOR REPRESSION VICTIMS VANDALIZED

NC041230 Paris AFP in English 1226 GMT 4 May 83

[Text] Warsaw, May 4 (AFP) -- A gang of "hooligans" last night vandalized a Franciscan convent which serves as headquarters of Polish Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp's Committee for Aiding Victims of Repression, reliable sources said here today. Several people were beaten up, furniture was damaged and four youths were seized by the gang, beaten and abandoned on the roadside outside Warsaw. The whole incident lasted about 15 minutes. Witnesses said the "hooligans" were armed with militia-type clubs and one of them had a walkie-talkie.

The attack on the convent cmae as churchgoers who had attended a mass in a church nearby were leaving the old part of the city.

HU YAOBANG 'VERY WARMLY WELCOMED' BY CEAUSESCU

AU051155 [Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1137 GMT on 5 May carries a live relay from Otopeni Airport on the arrival in Romania of Hu Yaobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary, on an official, friendly visit at the invitation of RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu.

According to the announcer, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and "other comrades of the party-state leadership" are at the airport to welcome the distinguished Chinese guest.

Hu Yaobang is reported to be "very warmly welcomed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu." The reporter states that Hu Yaobang is accompanied by Qin Jiwei, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee; Qiao Shi, alternate member of the Secretariat and head of the International Liaison Department of the CPC Central Committee; and Qian Qichen, alternate member of the CPC Central Committee and vice minister of foreign affairs.

The national anthems of the two countries are played and the two party leaders review the military honor guard.

Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang are reported to be warmly greeted by the Romanian officials present at the airport. While the arrival ceremony continues, the announcer reviews Romanian-Chinese relations and former fruitful summit talks and expresses the hope that the current visit and talks will end "with particularly fruitful results."

The announcer adds that Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang are watching the marchpast of the honor guard, and of the military band. Amidst cheers by the Bucharest residents present at the airport, Nicolae Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang are reported to leave the airport.

The live relay ends at 1152 GMT. No speeches were exchanged.

POPESCU ON RCP BREAK WITH DOGMATIC CONSTRAINTS

AU030825 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Apr 83 pp 1,4

[Editorial article: "The Marxist Dialectical Spirit in RCP Policies Following the Ninth Congress," by Dumitru Popescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy]

[Excerpts] It is a commonplace to state that dialectics is the soul of Marxism and that in its absence the socialist ideas lose their revolutionary character and become dogma. At a certain period, the fact that national revolutionary activities -- which are ever so diverse -- were led from a supranational center inescapably caused Marxism and its struggle tactics to be canonized. In its turn, the theory of a "single model" dealt severe blows to the people's spirit of receptivity to life's dialectics, preempting studies of given conditions and of the general through the particular.

Such circumstances combined to turn Marxism into a "table of the law," eternally and universally valid and hence absolute, into a mythology, precisely what Marx despised and hated the most, the opposite of his militant philosophy which opened up wide fields for curious minds, sensitive to change and to innovations, thirsty for knowledge and change.

In our party, too, there emerged a certain category of Marxists who claimed for themselves the role of guardians of the "original" formulas and of the purity of definitions and expressions, who were defending the dead but "authentic" letter against the living spirit.

Thus, many people were clinging to stereotype phrases for fear of being labeled or of sinning against the "holy" text, and more than a little out of simple laziness. This goes to show that Marx is too intransigent for transient compromises, too complex for obtuse minds, and too difficult for superficial people ready to swallow food already chewed.

Thus, being a true Marxist sometimes requires the courage to set aside the perishable elements of Marx's work, and in any event, to reject petrified interpretations of his farsighted ideas. Such courage was shown by our party at a decisive moment for the evolution of romanian socialism, a moment of choice between remaining faithful to obsolete, stagnating ideas, or breaking with dogma in order to progress. The RCP abandoned the simplist, linear, and static outlook of the world, in which socialism was exempted from any contradictions and conflicts, insensitive to outside influences, untouchable by world perturbations and self-sufficient, with its isolated market and its closed system, in which socialism was unvulnerable in complete military security, while capitalism was decrepit, continually shaken by the throes of imminent death, hostile to any progress, including technical progress, and seemed ready to collapse any minute under the blows of the relentless movement of its own people. That was a Manicheistic view in which everything that was white and pure belonged to the new system, and everything that was black, hateful, retrograde and abominable belonged to the bourgeois states.

We all realized that triumphal and idyllic views were not only manifestations of infantilism, but were preventing us from examining realities lucidly and objectively, from working out truly needed revolutionary strategies and tactics, and from mobilizing our social forces to overcome gaps and difficulties. We arrived at the conclusion that socialism has both lights and shades, that it can record both success and failure, and that it can be wrong and pay dearly for its mistakes.

We decided that the new system cannot live isolated from the rest of the world and that, within the framework of coexistence among systems, socialism must cooperate with the entire community of nations; we decided that there is an international economy whose crises affect us, too, and thus we wanted to cooperate in finding solutions of general interest. We agreed that the capitalist society is far from having spent its resources of material, scientific and technical progress, and that we cannot expect its imminent collapse under the pressure of revolutionary movements which, in some countries, due to a variety of factors that we cannot spell out here, are still anemic. Life has taught us that in the contemporary world, aside from the classical contradiction between socialism and capitalism, the conflict between developed and backward countries is increasing in intensity and sometimes even plays the main role in the historical arena. That confirms Marx's principle that the class struggle between rich and poor is still the red thread of history; particularly in the new conditions, it does not stop at national borders but spreads through the entire world, finding an expression even in the relations between large groups of nations.

These new considerations were our party's noteworthy contribution to enriching the heritage of contemporary revolutionary thinking. At the same time, they brought about radical and dialectical changes in the strategy of building socialism in Romania. To enumerate all the directions of this impressive political step would require a vast and laborious study. We will content ourselves with presenting only a few of them.

To begin with, after the ninth congress the party reconsidered various orientations, options and theses of capital importance for our socialist society, on the basis of specific national realities.

It replaced a mentality of complacency combining the psychology of overrated success with a reluctance to admit objective difficulties and subjective failings -- giving the impression that capitalism was uprooted on all fronts -- with a correct examination of the actual situation.

We proceeded from the dialectical essence of Marx' historical determinism, according to which people change their way of life and social relations in keeping with the productive forces at their disposal, and that a higher civilization is not a product of good intentions but of material means. The party, through the voice of its most authoritiative representiative, lucidly judged that adopting socialism does not automatically eradicate centuries-old backwardness, that solving important social problems -- such as living standards, cultural levels, science, public education -- is conditioned by the technical-material means of the society, and that socialism amid poverty is an absurdity, a nonsense.

The development option also imposed a dialectical positon toward science: The stupid slogan about the so-called reactionary sciences was abandoned -- that slogan was a sort of version of the old proletcultist enormity that required the production forces to be destroyed because they had been built by the bourgeoisie. At a vital moment of post-war international progress, that slogan deprived socialism of great discoveries of the human genius.

In the light of the dialectical concept of the accord between production forces and social relations, the party critically analyzed the structure and functions of the political system. It noted that the repressive function of power had been excessively and unnecessarily prolonged. The artificial and harmful character of the mentality of political suspicion was publicly revealed; abuses and illegal acts were combatted, as was the repression of criticism, which had been mistaken for hostility toward the regime. We cannot stress enough the great merit of our party secretary general in eliminating the element of fear and mistrust after the ninth congress. Even when there is discontentment -- for which there are reasons, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said at the latest plenum -- people do not hesitate to voice it, free of the trauma of fear of consequences.

In close connection with our party's dialectical approach to social, spiritual, and moral phenomena, in direct ratio with general democratic freedom, the attitude toward culture was radically changed. Rigid, didactic, limiting and arbitrary mentalities and practices have long since been replaced by the concept of the diversity of styles and freedom of artistic expression. The party no longer claims, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu repeatedly stated, to teach the artists how to write, paint, or compose.

Simultaneously with preparing and accomplishing so many changes, the Romanian society opened up vast horizons for the social sciences, which are expected to not just generalize post-factum practical experiences, but to prepare the field for innovations, to advance optimal hypotheses, solutions, and options for the political, material and cultural progress of the society. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu did not overrule the possibility of research errors and defended the scientists against blame.

As has always been the case, today, too, there are extreme attitudes toward Marx. On the one hand, the bourgeois schools -- compelled, however, to pay him attention as a principal factor of "dialogue" -- negate him for the reason that some of his forecasts did not materialize and that various social processes have disproved him. Hence, they declare Marxism to be obsolete and reduce it to the role of relic or museum piece. On the other hand, some of those who claim to be his descendents believe it to be their duty to defend him, and ritualistically state that everything that has happened and is happening in the world confirms point for point Marx's forecasts; they believe that the work of the great thinker is untouchable and his assertions undying, and that Marxism should be defended against any "so-called refreshening or innovations."

How far removed they both are from Marx! Marx would be the first to industriously examine it, without any prejudice, and to update his own views and conclusions.

CONTEMPORANUL ARTICLE COUNTERED BY NOVOYE VREMYA

For the text of the CONTEMPORANUL article by Vasile Iota that was ciriticized by NOVOYE VREMYA No 16 1983, pubished in the 27 April USSR DAILY REPORT, page F 2, see JPRS 83409, 5 May 1983, No 2137, EASTERN EUROPE POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS.

HOSTILITY AGAINST HUNGARIAN MINORITY REPORTED

AU290929 Vienna KURIER in German 29 Apr 83 p 3

[Text] The climate between the Romanians and the Hungarian minority in Romania is becoming increasingly hostile and tense. KURIER has received exclusively by mail from Transylvania posters which say, among other things: "Romanian brothers! Let us purge the country of the parasitic Hungarians, so that we can really own it. The Hungarians are traitors. They want to sell Transylvania. Hit them, crush them!"

CEAUSESCU DISCUSSES LEBANON WITH BEGIN ENVOY

AU031532 Bucharest Domestic Serivce in Romanian 1500 GMT 3 May 83

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Matityahu Shmuelevitz, director general of Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin's office and special envoy. The meeting was attended by Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs. Tzvi Brosh, Israel's ambassador to Bucharest, was also present.

The guest extended cordial greetings and best wishes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on behalf of Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin. Thanking the guest, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in turn extended greetings to the Israeli prime minister.

During the meeting, the sides examined the situation in Lebanon and the Middle East in general and stressed the need to intensify now the political and diplomatic activity to find a global solution and establish a just and lasting peace in that region. In this respect, President Nicolae Ceausescu presented Romania's position on the Middle East problems. He stressed that the withdrawal of Israeli troops and all foreign troops from Lebanon would create conditions for the Lebanese people to independently solve their problems, in accordance with their legitimate aspirations and interests, would reduce tension in that area and would lead to improving the political climate in the region.

The Romanian head of state said that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should be based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967, on recognition of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights to self-determination, including the creation of their own and independent state, and on ensuring the existence and security of all states in that region. At the same time, the Romanian president pointed out the need to proceed to direct negotiations this year with the participation of all interested parties and in a new organizational framework; these negotiations should take into consideration all viewpoints and peace plans for resolving the problems in that area. He stressed that a global solution to that region's problems and the establishment of a just and lasting peace is in accordance with interests of the Middle East peoples and serves the cause of peace and understanding in the world.

The meeting proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

RIBICIC'S INTERVIEW WITH PRC CORRESPONDENTS

AU041044 Beijing in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 3 May 83

[Interview granted by Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to the Beijing Radio Belgrade correspondent, the working group of the PRC Central Television currently visiting Yugoslavia, and the XINHUA Belgrade correspondent, in the LCY Central Committee building in Belgrade on 26 April -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade President, first of all, we want to express our sincere gratitude to you for receiving us despite (?the great demands of your work). As we know, in recent years, the friendship and cooperation between our two parties have continued to develop from day to day. Comrades Hu Yaobang, CPC general secretary, will shortly be paying an official and friendly visit to your country. How do you appraise this forthcoming visit and the further development of friendship and cooperation between the two parties?

[Answer] I think that this visit is very important and not just for the further development of bilateral relations between our countries, but important for world peace and for strengehtning the forces of peace, cooperation, and [word indistinct] for solving all difficult international problems. We think that the great importance of this visit is also due to the current period, which is marked by a troubled and difficult situation in the world, on all continents, and most certainly in Europe. You know that in the last 6 years the relations between our two countries and parties have been continuously good, that we have developed good cooperation and that, during these 5 or nearly 6 years, we have exchanged nearly 50 visits at the highest levels. Milka Planinc, our current president of the Federal Executive Council, has also visited China and members of our Presidium have held talks with your highest party leaders and others. Thus, we think that all this represents a continuity which extends from Tito's period to this day. This is what I want to say.

[Question] The Chinese people show great interest in the successes and experiences of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities in socialist construction under the leadership of the LCY. We want you to tell us about the main tasks of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia in internal construction and the main efforts of the LCY since the 12th LCY Congress to fulfill these (?great) tasks.

[Answer] The 12th LCY Congress was held last year. Prior to this 12th Congress, we also had six republican congresses and two provincial conferences of the League of Communists and, at these congresses and conferences, we outlined, I would say, the strategic direction of the LCY policy for the period to 1986. This is a very important period for the work of the League of Communists. The priorities and programs which we have now determined in the LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, as the political executive organ of the Central Committee, mainly concern the economic problems and priorities, that is, solutions for the economic situation. These are the problems of Yugoslavia's economic stabilization, the problems of foreign and internal liquidity of the Yugoslav economy, the problems of a greater expansion of our economy particularly in the direction of the convertible currency markets, the problems of exports, and the problems of regular payments for our international commitments, our debts which have accumulated to a considerable extent because we are a developing country and have experienced a rapid development. However, it is the question of how we should further develop the socialist self-managing system that is of greater interest to us than merely solving the current economic problems.

The socialist self-managing system is our specific system which should provide solutions not only when everything is good and peaceful and when the economy is ascending, but for these very difficult economic problems which have accumulated in our Yugoslav society.

Simultaneously with these economic problems we are waging a struggle of the League of Communists in the ideological field, a struggle to confirm the League of Communists as our society's leading force not only by the power of the state and not only by the power of the law, but to confirm it as the leading ideological force within the Socialist Alliance, within the socialist forces, in working among the masses and the workers class, in providing solutions for and alternative to the existing world, and in opening up new prospects for the cause of building socialism -- a humane socialism in which man himself will be the subjective factor of his own happiness, as Edvard Kardelj, our (?prominent) Marxist, said.

[Question] What is your opinion about the present very complex international situation and the prospects for its further development and what measures will Yugoslavia, as the main force in the Nonaligned Movement, take?

[Answer] Regarding the international situation, I think that, judging by the appraisals made in the latest reports and statements by our Chinese firneds and Hu Yaobang, our appraisals are identical. Like the Chinese, we are very concerned over the very difficult international situation. We think that the world must return to negotiations. We think that the crisis hotbeds that exist in nearly all parts of the world, in the Middle East, in Afghanistan, in Kampuchea, and in other regions, should be extinguished as soon as possible and the existing problems in these regions should be solved in the interest of peace and cooperation. We think that progress should be made toward disarmament and that the negotiations in Geneva should yield some kind of results in the interest of peace. It is clear that, as one of the founders of the nonaligned policy, we are very engaged in the actions of the New Delhi summit, the actions of implementing the Political Declaration and the Economic Declaration. At this time we are implementing the Political Declaration at the CSCE meeting in Madrid and we are implementing it in other actions, in the UN General Assembly, in connection with disarmament, and in connection with other matters. And as regards the Economic Declaration, we will principally implement it in the month of July [month as heard, UNCTAD session scheduled for June], that is, at the sixth UNCTAD session which will be held in Belgrade where nearly all prominent personalities of the developed world will assemble and where we will be solving the problems of the more rapid development of the undeveloped South, South-North relations, and of relations between the developed and poor countries of the world because these relations represent one of the main contradictions of the contemporary world.

[Question] I express once again our gratitude to you for this interview. If you want to say anything else to the Chinese people on this occasion, we will be happy to convey it to them.

[Answer] The Yugoslav peoples are less populous and they cannot compare themselves to the vast spaces of the land of China and with the enormous [few words indistinct] of the Chinese people who represent an enormous force in the contemporary world. However, just as China, we, too, although smaller in numbers, are interested in peace, in cooperation, in just life, and our countries' development in peace and happiness. And therefore we wish to the Chinese people, the Chinese revolution, the Chinese leadership, and the Chinese party great successes on the road to the common goal of ensuring that, one day, the world will become socialist and that, one day, all peoples and all people of this world will live in peace and happiness and not in fear for their survival.

RIBICIC RECEIVES OUTGOING ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR

LD261328 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 26 Apr 83

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr (TANJUG) -- Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received a farewell visit from the Romanian ambassador to the SFRY, Nicolae Mihai. They discussed cooperation between the LCY and the Romanian Communist Party.

RIBICIC NOTES LCY PROGRAM'S ANNIVERSARY

AU021402 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Apr 83 p 3

[Report by a "team of BORBA reporters" on discussion at the seventh session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 28 April]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 Apr -- Significant Jubilee

At today's session, we must mark the significance of a jubilee, Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said. In these days 25 years ago, the seventh LCY Congress adopted the LCY Program which, for a quarter of a century now, has represented the framework and the core of our deliberations and of the development of our Marxist thinking. The adoption of this Program represents one of the most significant boundaries in the development of our society, the League of Communists, our Marxist criticism, and the creative foundation of our revolution. It has synthesized our revolution's experiences and democratic and humanist characteristics and its goals stemming from the national liberation war and our revolutionary practice. I think that, in the past 25 years, we have followed a bold path on the basis of this Program and have thus achieved rich results in all spheres of life and primarily in developing socialist self-management and our own authentic political system of socialist democracy.

The Program has made dynamic our original road of socialist self-managing development on the basis of the classics of Marxism and has enriched the strategy of our communist movement with new ideological-theoretical and practical content. This knowledge and these experiences of ours have been incorporated in the decisions of all LCY congresses following the adoption of the Program. They have been further elaborated and expressed in the Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor, and our other documents. They also provide the basis for the work of our Commission of Social Councils for Economic Stabilization which has been mentioned so frequently, and for further studies of Marxism.

This Program is not only our Program, it is not only the Program of the LCY. It also has an international dimension, an international significance, and it certainly represents a contribution to Marxism and socialism as a world process.

The session's participants greeted with applause this reminder of the adoption of the LCY Program 25 years ago.

SVIJET NOTES 'PARANOID IDEAS' ON MUSLIM REPUBLIC

AU031745 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr and 1, 2, 3 May 83 p 13

["Excerpts" from Fuad Muhic article "Paranoid Ideas About 'Muslim Nationalism'," published in full by Sarajevo SVIJET on 30 April]

[Excerpts] Since the mid-sixties, when the national identification of Muslims in Yugoslavia began to be talked about and discussed more seriously, the process of this identification has been accompanied by a number of contradictions, the complications and collisions of which have extended to the present time. Those who did not agree with the national identification of Muslims have used the smallest possible cause or incident to show that this identity was made up and that Muslims will be an eternal element of evil in the areas where we have historically existed. The reason for this was sought primarily in their origin. After one-sidedly deciding that the origin of Muslims comes from that part of the Balkan population which during the past centuries abandoned Christianity and changed over to Islam, and after an even more one-sided interpretation (according to which the ancient change of the religious and national identity has remained a constant obstruction to the development of togetherness), it was only natural to conclude that Muslims cannot be anything other than a factor of national discord and of cooperation with all occupiers whose forces thundered through the South Slavic states. A way out of this difficult problem is seen in a coercive negation of their identity and in the conviction that a measure of historic justice toward the other nations can be found solely in forcing the Muslims to declare themselves in favor of one or another nation.

Bridges to Pan-Islamic Union

As is the case with every nationalism, this Muslim nationalism also suffers from a paranoid feeling of persecution. Since, according to its protagonists, every objective guarantee of national security has been lost in Yugoslavia following Tito's death, a flight within their own nation has remained the only shelter, while a basic lack of confidence in other nations has been transformed into a negative experience of togetherness. True, what Muslim nationalists are experiencing is no exception because the call for a national gathering around one's own nucleus is a slogan which has long since been heard from other nationalist circles. With its demand for setting up a "Muslim Bosnia," it is an ideological appendage to Cosic's [contemporary Serbian nationalist writer] call for a "united state of all Serbs in the Balkans," or plans about a new independent Croatian state which have also been recently revived. However, this demand is specific to this extent because it presupposes an outside linkage of Muslims on the basis of some kind of spiritual union with Muslims throughout the world "from Gibraltar to Indonesia" whose foundation would be the Koran and Muhammad's original teaching.

Both aforementioned positions -- the one on a "Muslim republic" and this one about a pan-Islamic union -- are ideologically inseparable. The first of them derives from the old ideology according to which "from Trebinje to Brod [central Bosnia-Hercegovina] there were no Serbs or Croats" (S. Basagic). In its present form this position also represents some kind of a tacit compromise with Serbian and Croatian nationalism: If pretensions are being put forward for eastern Bosnia as an integral part of "Greater Serbia," or toward western Bosnia as a constituent part of a new Croatian state creation, then, according to a part of Muslim nationalists, central Bosnia is predestined in a future constitutional reorganization to be a state preserve with all characteristics of national sovereignty. However, irrespective of the way in which territory is used, Muslim nationalists say that room must be found in Yugoslavia for a Muslim autonomy, strictly delineated from other national entities, otherwise the "Muslim question" must be internationalized.

The linking of these nationalists with pan-Islamic tendencies in the world, for which the aforementioned "Islamic Declaration" of 1970 is one of the main inspirations, most eloquently states that what is involved is not a mere threat but practical efforts to seek the guarantee for a Muslim national existence outside our borders. This declaration, although it is (from the viewpoint of certain ideas) a little obsolete after the Islamic revolution in Iran of 1979, nonetheless contains fundamental principles of an "Islamization of Muslims and the Muslim peoples" which some people try to transfer also to our areas and clearly politicize them.

KOSOVO PRESIDENCY ELECTS NEW PRESIDENT

LD041727 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 4 May 83

[Excerpts] Pristina, 4 May (TANJUG) -- Today's Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Presidency session elected Sefcet Jasari, member of the Presidency, president of the province's Presidency for the next 1-year mandate period.

On behalf of the Presidency, Jasari thanked the outgoing President, Kolj Siroka, for his contribution to realizing and implementing the constitutional function of the Presidency and for his involvement in the stabilization of the political and economic situation in the province.

It is reported that the Presidency proposed to the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo that following the expiration of his 1-year mandate period, Radivoje Glavic be relieved of his post as president of the Constitutional Court of Kosovo, and that Muharem Imeri, a judge of the province's Constitutional Court, be elected the new president of this institution.

FURTHER ON CROATIAN SAWP PRESIDIUM SESSION

AU011932 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 83 p 1

[Summary] Zagreb, 26 Apr -- At their constituting session today when Darinka Puskaric, president of the Croatian SAWP Republican Conference, submitted an introductory speech, delegates of the Croatian SAWP Republican Conference elected Milica Posavec president of the Republican Conference for the Activity and Role of Women in Social Development. "They also elected presidents of the sections and coordination committees." Darinka Puskaric and Milan Rakas were elected delegates to the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium.

"At the first session of the newly elected members of the Republican Conference Presidium of the Croatian SAWP, Pero Djetelic was elected new president of the Presidium for a 1-year term of office and Nikola Basic was elected secretary."

CROAT SAWP COMMISSION ON CLERICALISM, ANTITHEISM

LD212308 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 21 Apr 83

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Apr (TANJUG) -- The Socialist Alliance as a whole must realize its role as the front of all the socialist-oriented forces. Religious groups in this process should not represent an element of difference between people or the basis on which anybody's moral-political suitability is judged. Individual mistakes or individual sectarian approaches toward believers must not be generalized and depicted as society's attitude toward believers. This is the assessment adopted by the members of the Croat Republican SAWP Conference Committee for Social Questions of Religion and Activity of Religious Communities.

Taking part in the discussion, Professor Ivan Lalic said that all of our society's enemies recently have been trying to make maximum use of the church in order to attain their aims. They are advocating unity on a national basis [words indistinct]. The strings behind this political activity are held by centers outside Yugoslavia. Expressing this assessment, Prof Ivan Lalic stressed that it will be politically harmful to accuse all political groups and believers in this connection.

Taking part in the discussion, Ivoca Mastruko said that apart from noting the absence of believers from SAWP forums we have made no real progress. He said that we also have to clear practical implementation of the political contents of our political documents. Mastruko warned against the possibility that the committees of this kind within the SAWP framework in fact will become a "substitute" for the inclusion of representatives of religious communities into the Socialist Alliance.

Mastruko went on to stress that clericalism and sectarianism have given rise recently to a considerable degree of antitheism. This attitude of being against religion and against believers is becoming increasingly frequent and is boosting both clericalism and the sectarian attitude toward believers, thus contributing to the escalation of these two opposites. Mastruko also advocated the strict application of the constitutional provisions and the law whenever this proves to be necessary.

MONTENEGRIN SAWP VIEWS ACTIVITY, ELECTS CHAIRMAN

AU201720 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Apr 83 p 3

[S. Vukasinovic report]

[Excerpts] Titograd, 14 Mar [date as published] -- Delegate relations in the SAWP and the Republican Conference's work were the topic of discussion at today's session of the highest organ of the Montenegrin SAWP. Although separated by the agenda, these two points were in fact the real assessment of the Montenegrin SAWP's work in the past year.

Daily practice shows, said Orle Sabovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists, that the basis of a broader formulation of declarations, agreements, coordination, and decisionmaking by delegates is frequently reduced by the manner of organization and daily work.

In his view, numerous weaknesses in the functioning of delegate relations and front activity in the Socialist Alliance are stressed as being characteristic of the work of the basic organizations, or rather the SAWP local conferences. Moreover, this was also confirmed by the participants in the discussion, including Sulju Alivodic, Velizar Skerovic, Dusko Seperovic, and Andrija Vujovic.

Many weaknesses and inconsistencies in the work of the SAWP organization are the result of an inadequate attitude by the organization of the League of Communists, of insufficient involvement by the League of Communists. In the structure of the Montenegrin SAWP, Communists account for a quarter of the members and many things should be different. This also applies to the trade unions, to the work of sections, and to many forms of organization, of which there are over 2,000 in the local communities and conferences.

If one judges by the data that some 50 problems were discussed at the 6 sessions of the Republican Conference and 21 sessions of its Presidium, as well as that some 200 topics were discussed at 120 sessions of various forms of activity of the Republican Conference, it could be said that the 1-year activity was intensive and dynamic. We have tried, said Bosko Djukic, secretary of the Republican Conference, to adapt the method of work to the current political and economic moment so as to be able to more successfully follow, initiate, and more concretely work out certain social phenomena.

However, the question is to what extent the effort made yielded results, particularly in reference to the SAWP's front role. Bosko Djukic also remarked on this: "This front activity, cooperation, and synchronization of tasks is also frequently missing on those occasions involving the most essential and burning problems and when it is indispensable to ensure a unity of action of all subjects."

Parallelism in Work

Except on rare occasions, the work of the SAWP organs reminds one more of the work of "a special" exclusively "separate" political party, and less of the work of the organs of a front organization, with all the peculiarities and specific features of such work and behavior.

Vladimir Popovic, member of the Republican Conference Presidium of the Montenegrin SAWP, was elected new president of the Republican Conference of the Montenegrin SAWP.

BORBA URGES RECOGNITION OF MACEDONIAN CHURCH

AU301816 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23/24 Apr 83 p 6

[Dragan Nikolic article: "Right to Its Own Bell"]

[Excerpts] In the past 38 years, the two existing orthodox churches -- the Serbian and the Macedonian -- have invoked many historical arguments and counterarguments. However, the highest leadership of the "mother church" during this entire period has not moved even an inch toward recognizing "its offspring," the Macedonian Orthodox Church, which exists, either recognized or unrecognized, in a reality that makes its independence possible to the same degree to which, in the past, the reality, changed by the course of historical events, made possible the formation of an autocephalous Serbian church or, after World War I, the inclusion of the eparchies in Macedonia in the Serbian Orthodox Church.

A nonrecognition of changed conditions cannot be based on the arguments such, as for instance, are put forward by the newspaper PRAVOSLAVLJE when it uses the terms World War II or the last war instead of the national liberation war and revolution, or by the letters of some church servants appearing now and then which use the archaic term of "Southern Serbia" that people have already forgotten.

The changed conditions and the changed reality have been most clearly sanctioned by our Constitution. For the first time in their history, the Macedonian people won in the revolution the right to their self-determination, to their free national life, and their free material, social and spiritual development. In this context the believers in Macedonia, too, won the right to decide their own church organization and to decide the framework of the church in which they would satisfy their religious needs.

Following a request by the Macedonian church national council, in June 1967, the Holy Synod of the Macedonian Orthodox Church proclaimed its church independent (autocephalous). Thus, the independence of the Macedonian church became a reality. But, at the same time, this reality opened up the problem of its recognition, first, by the Serbian church and then also by other orthodox churches. In addition to the "historical facts" and "historical achievements" invoked in connection with this problem, the arguments based on church cannon law have also been used. And yet, to mention it in passing, this cannon law has been virtually never observed in the case of the formation or abolition of other orthodox churches nor has any of these churches been founded on the basis of church cannon laws.

Real State of Affairs

Precisely because all this is not only a church issue, the Macedonian Republican SAWP Conference recently held a discussion on the relations between the two churches and noted with concern among other things that the position of the highest leadership of the Serbian Orthodox Church is most strongly applauded by certain hostile forces abroad and by some foreign media which are notorious for their negation of the Macedonian people, their history and culture and, consequently, also their right to live in the community of Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. It was also noted that in some instances the highest leadership of the Serbian Orthodox Church itself has joined this total negation which is nothing but a negation of our constitutional system, among other things, when it also manifests itself by upsetting citizens. It goes without saying that this negation is grist for the mill of those who want a fragmentation of our fraternal community and not those who want its unity and prosperity.

If it can master sufficient strength, the highest leadership of the Serbian Orthodox Church is the one factor which can put an end to all these undesirable implications -- which it itself certainly also does not want -- only if it recognizes the political and religious reality in Macedonia which nothing can return -- not only to the situation after World War I -- but to the situation that existed some 15 years ago on the eve of the proclamation of the autocephalous Macedonian Orthodox Church. The fact that the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church has not decided to initiate any proceeding against "those who are guilty of schism" attests to the existence of open room for sound reason within the isolated leadership of the church. And finally it must be said that the existing dispute is burdening the relations beween the church and the state and making a complete rallying of Macedonian emigrants more difficult. The church communities of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, especially in the transoceanic countries, have become the places of gathering for Macedonian emigrants and one of the bridges of their ties with their homeland.

It is in these communes that national customs are cultivated and that various cultural-educational and sports life is taking place. The cult of the homeland is nurtured in these communities.

In the aforementioned discussion it was stated that the Socialist Alliance energetically opposes in its own community any occurrence of nationalism because of the unsolved dispute between the two churches but that, at the same time, it would not become reconciled to the occurences of the greater Serbian nationalism that accompany the activity of some individual dignitaries of the Serbian church's highest leadership.

BRIEFS

MACEDONIAN PRESIDENCY PRESIDENT -- Skopje 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- At a session held today, chaired by Angel Cemerski, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia elected Blagoja Taleski as president of the Presidency for the next 1-year term of office. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 28 Apr LD]

MACEDONIAN ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT -- Skopje 28 Apr (TANJUG) -- At a joint session delegates of all three chambers of the Macedonian Assembly, Bosko Stankovski was today reelected president of the Macedonian Assembly for a 1-year term. At the joint session Goga Nikolovski was elected president of the Macedonian Constitutional Court. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Apr LD]